

Of Episcopacy.
THREE EPISTLES
OF

2/6
PETER MOULIN Doctor and
Professor of Divinity.

Answered

By the Right Reverend Father in God

Lancelot Andrews,

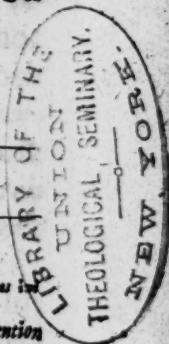
Late Lord Bishop of Winchester.

Translated for the benefit of the Publike.

S. Clemens in Epist. ad Corinth. 1.

Οι Αποστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, ὅτι ἐν ἡμῶν
τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ Ἐπισκοπικῷ.

Our Apostles understood by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be contention
about the name of Episcopacy.



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OF THE
FIRST EPISTLES
OF

THE APOSTLES
TO THE ROMANS
AND THE GALATIANS
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE THESSALONIANS
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE TIMOTHY
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE TITUS
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE PHILEMON
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE HEBREWS

AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE PETER
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE JOHN
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE JUDE
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE JAMES
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE PETER
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE JOHN
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE JUDE
AND THE EPISTLES
TO THE JAMES



To the most Reverend *Prelate*,
the *Lord Bishop of Winchester*,

Peter Adonlin wisheth all
health and hap-
pinels.

THat Honorable man, your Pre-
decessor, was taken hence, not
without great damage both
to the Church and Common-
wealth. The King lost a most
wise Counsellor, and the Church
a faithfull Pastor; but I a Patron and a friend;
who, though he was most carefull and desi-
rous of my good yet, oblig'd me more by his
Virtues, then his *benefits*. I have his Letters
by me, which he wrote to me when he was
sick, and his recovery was almost desperate;
the very sight wherof doth exceedingly af-
flict me. But yet my grief was not a little
eas'd, when I heard that you succeeded in his
room, whose *learning* I long since admir'd,
and of whose *good affection* I had great expe-
rience,

D. Moulins *Of Episcopacy.* 1. Epist.

rience, when I was with you. Indeed, his most judicious *Majestie* did not stick long upon his choice. You were even then design'd his *Successor*, in the judgment of all who knew the wisdom of the *King*. May it, I beseech *God*, prove happy and fortunate to your self, to the *Church*, and *Kingdom*. May He grant you, with increase of *Honor*, increase of *Virtue*, and a fresh and lively old age: That his most *Gracious Majestie* may long enjoy you for his *Counsellor*, and the *Church* daily reap more and more fruits of your *industry* and *vigilance*.

I wrote a Book touching the *Calling* of *Pastors*, wherein some passages given to the soul of your most wise *King*, as if they were averse to the Office of *Episcopacy*. But, indeed, on the other side, our Countrymen complain not a little, that I undertook the cause of *Bishops*; and condemn'd *Aerins*, who, in a matter anciently, and universally receiv'd, durst oppose himself against the Practice of the *Catholik Church*. And they take it in ill part, that I said, that it was generally receiv'd in the *Church*, even from the first *successors* of the *Apostles*, that, among the *Presbyters* of a *City*, some one should have the preeminence and

be call'd the *Bishop*, But, though there be many things in my Book, which the *King* set a dash of *his* dislike upon, which, as all things els, he observed wisely and with an incredible sharpness of wit, yet, *Three things* there are, which specially offend *Him*.

The *First* is, that, I said, that the *Names* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are promiscuously taken, in the *New Testament*, for one and the same.

I —

The *Second*, that, I affirm'd, that there is but one and the same *Order* of *Presbyter*, and *Bishop*.

II —

The *Third*, and that the greatest, is, that I think the *Precedence*, the *Priority* or *Superiority* of *Bishops*, not to be of *Divine Right*; nor a point of *Faith*, but to be a thing wherein the *Primitive Church* vsed her liberty and prudence, when she judg'd the *Preeminence* of *One* to be fitter for the mantaining of *Order* and conserving of *Peace*, and that *Unity* may well be kept whole and intire between *Churches*, though they differ upon that point.

III —

I confess, these things were wrote by me: which, lest they be drawn to a wrong sense, or be taken in the worser part, take, I pray,

4 D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy*. I. Epist.
breisly my meaning in them.

— I I said, indeed, that the *Names* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were taken for all one in the *New Testament*: But I thought not that the *Dignity* of the *Bishop* was lessened thereby, since I spake only of the *Name*, not of the *Office* only: and I have (beside clear places of *Scripture*) the consent not only of *Hierom* the *Presbyter*, but also of the most famous *Bishops* of the *Ancient Church*, *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, *Theodoret*, who took it not as a wrong to them, or that any thing was abated of their honor, if it were beleaved that the *Names* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were at first used in the same sense.

— II That the *Order*, indeed, of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* was one and the same, that I said: For so did the *Ancient Church* ever think; and the *Church* of *Rome* thinks so, to this day: although there be in that *Church* an incredible difference betwixt the *pomp* of the *Bishops*, and the *meaness* of the *Priests*. Thence it is that in the *Roman Pontifical* there is set down the *Consecration* of *Bishops*, but not the *Ordination* of them. Indeed, *Order* is one thing, a *Degree* another: for men of one and the same *Order* may differ in *Degree* and *Dignity*; even

D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy.* I. Epist. 5
as among *Bishops* the *Degree of Archbishops* is
the more eminent.

Howbeit, that this *Episcopal Degree* and
Prerogative is by *Ecclesiastical*, not by *Divine*
Right, I confess it was said by me. For beside
that to speak otherwise then I thought, had
not been the part of an upright honest man,
you, according to your wonted goodness, will
easily judge, that a *French man*, living vnder
the *Polity* of the *French Church*, could not
speak otherwise, but he must incur the cen-
sure of our *Synode*, and vnder the danger
(*excommunication*) of degrading, beforced to a recan-
tation. For to think that our *Churches* do err
in points of *Faith*, and in that which is of *Di-*
vine Right were, questionles, to brand them
with the note of *Heresy*, and to shake the con-
science of many weak ones.

Truly, I came very vnwillingly to the wri-
ting of this *Book*, but our *Church* requiring
it, and lately enforcing me, for to stop the
insolency of our *Adversaries*, who in this
point insult over vs out of all temper, and
speak of vs as of so many doltish mushrooms,
newly sprung out of the earth, and as of a
company of base fellows who by force and
triumph had got the *Pulpit*. But, howsoever,
I think,

III —

I think, I have kept such a temper, that, in defending our own, I have not struck at your government; nor by immoderate affection to a part have inclined, more then was meet, to either side. Nor did I ever mention the *Bishops of England* without due honor.

These things I thought fit to write to you, Great Sir, by whom I chiefly desire my papers may be approved. I had sent my *Book* to you before now, but that I was told by divers you vnderstood not *French*. Now I send it, because; since you enjoy a more frequent and neerer presence of *His Majestie*, I doubt not but He may have some speech with you about it, and use you as an umpire in the cause. And I shal most willingly stand to your iudgment; well knowing that the most learned are ever the most candid; and hoping that you wil not launce too deep whatever may be salved with a fair interpretation. So think of me, as of a man with whom the *Authority of Antiquity* shalbe ever in great esteem; and who shall think my self sufficiently arm'd against al opposite judgments, if you shal not vtterly disapprove what I have writ. God preserve you, Great Prelate. Farewell.

Paris, Nones of Sept.

1618.

Your Honors most devoted

Peter Adoulin.

The



The Bishops Answer.

I Had wrote these in the begining of *March*, and was about to send them presently; when, lo, the indisposition of the *King*, in point of health, made me lay them by, and hindred my sending of them. This sickness, contracted first by grief, for the death of *his* most dear *Consort*, our most *Gracious Queen*, and the neglect of all care of *his* body upon that greif, ended at last in a disease; a disease, indeed, so intricat and doubtfull, that the Physicians themselves were at a stand what the event would be. Wherby I forgot that I wrote, and so omitted to send to *you*. For all I had to do was to fall to my prayers, with many moe, who were sore perplexed, as then in jeopardy, for a most *Gracious King*. But *God* looked upon us, and restord *Him* to us, & in *Him* us to our selves. And now, being returnd to my self, I return to *you*, what I confess, I have bin too long indebted to *you* in; so that, as a bad debtor, I was faine to be calld vpon, by *Monsieur Beaulieu*, in *your* name. *You* will accept of this my too just excuse, kindly, as *you* are wont; and promise *your self*, from me, what good offices one friend can do another.

Now concerning *your Book*. *You* write that some passages therein greivd the *Kings* Soul. And no wonder. For *his* soul is tender, and very sensible of any thing in that kind that bites or stings. For, out of *His Piety* to *God*, *He* makes it not the least of *His* cares to tender the *Peace* and *Order* of *His Church* here. And therefore, in

8 B. Andrewss *Of Episcopacy* 1. Epist.

His great wisdom, He presently discerned, whether these Three points tended.

- I I. *The name of Bishop is not distinct from that of Presbyter.*
- II II. *The Order is not distinct, that is, not the Thing it self.*
- III III. *And so the whole [matter] is not anything of Divine Right.*

What could they, who lately made all the stirrs among us, mutter more, possibly? Then, that 1. the *Name is taken confusedly*, that 2. *the Thing is not distinct*. 3. Finally, that *it is a Human invention*: being settled by man may be unsettled, and so stands or falls at the pleasure of the Commonwealth. *These Dictates* are too well known to the *King*: He hath been long usd to them: They have long since on all hands been rounded in *His* ears. He knows that there are still among us such, as will from *your* writings presently take a new occasion, perhaps, not to pluck up this *Order* of ours, that for so many ages hath taken root but, surely, to defame and calumniat it.

And this so much the rather, because, at one and the same time, not by agreement, I beleeve, but yet as though vpon a compact, lo, one *Bucer*, a fellow not hurt, nor medled with by any, in a very unseasonable time, set forth a *Book in Latin*, as it were, of the same argument. What *King*, that studies the *Peace*, not only of *His* own *Church*, but, which He desireth, and would purchase at a dear rate, even of the whole *Christian world*, would not these things trouble? Wherefore, if the *King* set a dash of dislike upon those passages, take it not ill: I dare say, He had rather set many *asterisks* of commendation, then one dash of dislike, specially upon what is *your*.

This, surely, is the *Kings* mind; and is (as it ought to be) the mind and sense of *vs all*. Wherin I appeal to

your

your own equity. You were for murthering of Your Churches Government, and the repressing of your adversaries insolvency: should you not do it, you should incur the censure of your Synod, and be forced either to recant, or fear to be degraded. In this We pardon you, and demand the like pardon from you; that it may be lawfull for us also to defend our Government, as becometh upright honest men. For we likewise have froward adversaries; and there are consciences, too, among us, which we may not suffer to be shaken or undermin'd, although they liv'd under another form of Church Government, then was from the begining, even from the very times of the Apostles. And we are ready, if need be, and occasion shall serve, to make this good to the whole Church.

How I wish therefore, that *you* had not so much as touch'd upon *our Church Government*. For who put *you* upon it? *You* might have turn'd *your* weapons against *those enemies* (you speak of) and never have jerk't at *us*. There's no such complication of *ours* with *yours*, but that *you* might easily have pass'd by *ours* with silence, And

A faithfull silence hath its sure reward.

Or, if *you* were so set upon it, that *you* must needs be intermeddling with *Ours*, how I wish *you* had first imparted your mind to the *King*: and, whilst the coast was cleer, had seasonably taken *His* advice in that *you* had to say of *His* affairs: (for *Ours* He accounts *His*.) *You* your self know (and, indeed, who knows not since He hath wrote so much, so admirably?) that, as He is most able in respect of *his* other endowments of *Wis.* and *Understanding*, so also, in respect of *his* *reason* and *solidity of Judgement*, he is equal to the best, or rather goes before them. No man living hath in *our Churches* affairs a clearer insight, a readier dispatch, then he. He himself, in any point, but specially in what concerns *his* own

Church could have answerd you best : and have set you the bounds, so far to go, but not beyond. Wherefore, if hereafter you shall go about any thing in the like kind, pray remember this my advice ; which proceeds from a very good will to you ; I knowing that the *King* is well affected to you ; that he hath deserved well of you , (nor will you deny it,) and, I hope , will for the future deserve better.

I Concerning those Three points, if you demand (as you do) what I think, I shall give you here this ingenuous answer ; That the Names of Bishop and Presbyter are taken promiscuously in Holy Scriptures : that at first, there was not so great force in the Words, I shall easily grant you. Nor did his Majesty regard so much, what you said, as to what purpose ; as what others would catch from thence ; who, both in other parts, & here among us, too, are not rightly affected to this our order : that these things were spoke to this purpose, as if the Names being promiscuous, the Things themselves were so also. For to what end is it, of what concernment, to speak of Words taken confusedly, when the Things are distinct. No man, lightly, carps at the Name, but he that wisheth not very well to the Thing also.

1. And yet nothing here hath befallen Bishops, which hath not befallen those other Orders also. For, in those very places, in those very Authors whom you name, it is said in like manner also of Deacons. *Even a Bishop is called a Deacon* : wherupon S. Paul, writing to Timothy, said to him, though a Bishop, Fullfill thy Deaconry. From thence you may gather, that the Names of Bishop and Deacon are taken for the same. Nay, the very Apostles themselves call themselves sometimes Presbyters, sometimes Deacons, and so their whole Office a Deaconry, and yet is not Deacon or Presbyter the same that Apostle. Why therefore

a S Chrysost in
ad P. ilip c. 1.

did you not add that too, that it might appear that the *other* suffered as much as *Bishops*; and that, in the beginning, not only the *names* of *Bishops*, but of *other Orders* also were taken, in like maner, *promiscuously*; whereas the *Things*, the *Offices* themselves were distinct.

2. Whereas, then, in those very places, where the *Fathers* speak so, [*That then they communicated in Names*] they presently apply a remedy, and give this *item*, that the *Things* themselves are otherwise. And instantly add [*Afterward the proper name was given to each; of Bishop to a Bishop, of Presbyter to a Presbyter.*] By the rule of speech then, who would urge the *common* name, when the *proper* had taken place? For no body would now call a *King*, a *Tyrant*; or a *Souldier*, [*Latronem*] as of old they were wont, a *Robber*: neither, sure, would they call a *Presbyter*, a *Bishop*; as when S. Hieron wrote, had he called himself *Bishop*, and S. Augustine *Presbyter*, you know, he would have been laughed at for his pains.

3. Add further, that in those very places wherein the *Fathers* speak so, before they speak, they are forced [*ad hoc propositum*] to object by way of exception concerning the use of *names*, and to premise some what that should put the thing out of question. S. Chrysostom; *what means this? were there then more Bishops of one & the same city? by no means.* No, nor then when S. Paul wrote: *Theodoret; It could not be, that many Bishops should be Pastors of one City.* S. Hieron; *There could not be many Bishops in one City.* S. Ambrose; *God appointed several Bishops over several Cities.* So that they do clearly shew, the *Offices* were then distinct, when they make the inference touching the *name*. I collect then; how ere it was for the *names*, at first; Be it they then neglected the *Propriety* of speech, yet that even then, there was but *one Bishop*, but *one Pa-*

for in one City. And this holdeth among us, even at this day; but doth it so among you? Thus if you had prefaced touching the *Thing* it self, and had afterward inferred touching the *names*, (though to what end is it to make any stir about the *name*, when we are agreed on the *thing*?) that they were (a little while) taken one for another; and had not spoken so loosely concerning the promiscuous use of the *names*, his *Majesty* would not, I beleeve, have set his dash of dislike upon that passage.

— II

The next is touching the *Order*. Where, I pray, consider, whether they be to be called *One* and *the same Order*, whose *Offices* are not *one* and *the same*. But that they are not the *same Offices*, even they who less favour the *Episcopal Order* do confess, in that they ever except *Ordination*. Again, whether they be to be called *One* and *the same Order*, wherein there is not *One* and *the same*, but a *new* and *distinct Imposition of hands*. For, that in all *Antiquity* there was *Imposition of hands* upon *Bishops*, no man, I think, will deny. And, whether the *Ancient Church* were of this opinion, let *Isidore* be the witness, who
 b Eym. 7. 12. in plain words calls it the *Order of Bishoprick*.

To the Schole, indeed, if you refer it, they do not agree among themselves. Your *Abissiodorensis*, our *Major*, and others are for the *distinction of the Order*. But they who are most against it, though they will not grant it a *Sacrament of Orders* (the whole force whereof they bound within the *Eucharist*) yet an *Order* they grant, since an *Order* is nothing else, but a *Power* to a *special Act*, (as, namely, to *Ordain*;) which is competent to *Bishops* only. For what a thing were this, if that, from whence *Ordination*, and so all other *Orders* proceed, should it self not be an *Order*?

For we pass not for the *Church of Rome*, or the *Pontifical*.

tistical, If they please themselves with the name of *Consecration*, let them enjoy it. Even the Church of Rome it self did anciently speak otherwise. For instance; *The Church of Rome*, (saith *Tertullian* ^c) gives out that *Clement* was ordained by *S. Peter*. Otherwise also the *Fathers*, (even they, whom you allege,) even *S. Hierom*, ^d who affirms, that *S. James*, the brother of our Lord, was ^{d De Script. 2.} presently after the Passion of our Saviour ordained Bishop. And of *Timothy*; ^e *Timothy* had the gift of Prophecy, together with his Ordination to Episcopacy. *S. Ambrose*; ^f For ^{f In 1. ad Tim 3.} unlawfull it was, and might not be, that the Inferior should ordain the superior; (to wit, a *Presbyter* a Bishop.) *S. Chrysostom*; ^g For *Presbyters* could not have ordained the Bishop. For the Latin word, *Ordination*, is agreeable to the Greek, *κλειρονομία*, and is often rendred by it: nor is any word more frequent, where mention is of making Bishops, then that of *κλειρονομία*. *Theodoret*; ^h *Titus* was ordained by *S. Paul* Bishop of Crete. ^{b Occum in Pres. Ep. ad T. 1.}

But, you say, an Order is one thing, a Degree another. Yet you know that, in Holy Scriptures, these words are taken one for another, no less then those of Bishop and Presbyter: where the *Deaconry* is called, ^a *Deacon*, a Degree; ⁱ in which, notwithstanding, you will not, I know, deny ^{i 1. Tim. 3. 13.} to be an Order. You know also that it is so among the *Fathers*; among whom you may often read that a *Deacon*, or *Presbyter* may, ^a *Deacon*, fall from his Degree, and be degraded, no less then a Bishop. Indeed, every Order is a Degree; but not every Degree an Order. But both are in Episcopacy; though in one respect an Order, in another a Degree. A Degree, as it hath a superiority even without any power; an Order, as it hath a power to a special act. For, were it a Degree only, it had been enough to have used the word [*superior*] the superlative, which denotes a Degree superior to that of [*Presbyter*], the

the *Comparative*, neither would there have been need to fetch in a new word [*unusquisque*] a *Bishop*, merely to design a *Degree*. For as touching *Archbishops* tis quite another reason: *They* are not indued with a *power to any special act*: For even *they*, if *they* were not *Bishops* before, receive their *Ordination* from *Bishops*: And, as *they* are *Archbishops*, *they* are not necessary to the *Ordination* of *Bishops*: for, by the *Fourth Canon* of the *Council of Nice*, *Three Bishops together have power to ordain a Bishop*.

But we very well know, that the *Apostles*, and the *Seventy two Disciples* were *Two Orders*, and those *distinct*. And this, likewise, we know, that every where among the *Fathers*, *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are taken to be after *their example*: That *Bishops* succeeded the *Apostles*; and *Presbyters* the *Seventy two*. That these *Two Orders* were by our *Lord* appointed in those *two*. *Cyprian*; *k Deacons must remember that our Lord chose the Apostles*; that is, *Bishops* and *Prelates*: But the *Apostles*, after the *Ascension* of our *Lord* appointed *Deacons* for themselves, as *Ministers* of their *Episcopacy*, and of the *Church*. Nay, *S. Hierom*; *l* wish *us Bishops hold the place of the Apostles*. All [*Bishops*] are *successors of the Apostles*. And that is a famous place in *him*; in *him*; and *S. Augustine*, too, upon the *44. Psalm*. In stead of thy *Fathers* thou shalt have *children*: *he* in stead of *Apostles*, *Bishops*. *S. Ambros*, in *1. Corinth. 12. 28*. *God hath set in the Church* [*Caput Apostolos*] *first Apostles*. Now the *Apostles* are *Bishops*: the *Apostle S. Peter* giving us assurance of it; And his *Bishoprick* let another take. And a little after. Are all *Apostles*? He saith right: for in any *Church* but one *Bishop*. And in *Ephes. 4*. The *Apostles* are the *Bishops*.

From hence we have a fair passage to the last point: Whether this Order be by *Divine Right*. Very glad I was to hear it from you, That the *Authority of Antiquity* should

k Epist. 69^a
ad Rom.

l Epist. ad Mar.
cel. de Err.
Mont.
Epist. ad
Euseb.

should be ever in great esteem with you. I love you for that word: Nor will it be the least of your praises, if your deeds make your words good. For my part it hath been my opinion ever, I was ever of that mind.

But, or I am deceiv'd in the whole story of *Antiquity*, or the *Apostolical* men, i. e. the *Disciples* of the *Apostles*, or (as *Eusebius* calls them) *apostolici*, they that conversed with them, both they who are not mentioned in Holy Scripture (as *Polycarpus* and *Ignatius*,) and they who are expressly mentioned (as *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Clement*,) were *Bishops*, while the *Apostles* were alive; and were constituted and ordained by the *Apostles* themselves.

(a) *Polycarp* by S. *John*. (b) *Clement* by S. *Peter*.

(c) *Titus* and (d) *Timothy* by S. *Paul*.

I give you these witnesses. Concerning *Polycarp*:

(e) *Irenaeus*; (f) *Tertullian*; (g) *Eusebius*;

(h) *Hierom*. Concerning *Ignatius*: (i) *Eusebius* and (k) *Hierom*. Concerning *Timothy*:

(l) *Eusebius*, (m) *Hierom*, (n) *Ambrose*,

(o) *Chrysostom*, (p) *Epiphanius*. Concerning *Titus*:

(q) *Eusebius*, (r) *Ambrose*, (s) *Theodoret*. Concerning *Clement*:

(t) *Tertullian*,

(u) *Eusebius*, (x) *Hierom*. Not to speak of

(y) *Linus*, (z) *Dionysius*, (a) *Onesimus*, (b) *Eppaphroditus*, (c) *Caius*, (d) *Archippus*; concerning

whom we have the like testimonies of the Fathers. And not of these alone: even S. *Mark*

the *Evangelist*, and that while the *Apostles* lived,

who saw it; for S. *Mark* dyed in the (e) Eighth

year of *Nero*, full Five years before S. *Peter* and

S. *Paul* were crown'd with martyrdom. And

not He alone, S. *James* also the *Apostle*. Wit-

ness for S. *Mark*, (f) *Hierom*: for S. *James*,

(g) *Eusebius* (out of *Clement* and *Hegesippus*)

(h) *Hierom*.

(i) *Eusebius* (out of *Clement* and *Hegesippus*)

(j) *Eusebius* (out of *Clement* and *Hegesippus*)

(k) *Eusebius* (out of *Clement* and *Hegesippus*)

(l) *Eusebius* (out of *Clement* and *Hegesippus*)

(m) *Eusebius* (out of *Clement* and *Hegesippus*)

(1) S. *Hierom*. de S. *rip*.

17. (b) *Certul*. de *Prasf*.

33. (c) *Occum* in *Prasf*.

Tit. (d) S. *Hier*. de *scri*.

(e) 3. 3. (f) de *Prasf* 32.

(g) 3. 35. (h) de *scrip* 17.

(i) 3. 3. (k) de *scrip* 16.

(l) 3. 4. (m) de *scrip* 9.

(n) *Prasf* in 1. *Tim*.

(o) *Phil*. 1. (p) *Haref* 75.

(q) 3. 4. (r) *Prasf* in *Tit*.

(s) *Occum* *Prasf* in *Ti*.

(t) de *scrip* 32. (u) 3. 14.

(x) de *scrip* 15.

(y) *Euseb* 3. 4. ea *Di-*

omni *Corinth*. & 4. 23.

& *Hier*. de *scrip* 19.

(a) *Euseb*. 3. 35. ea *Ign-*

atio (b) *Theodoret* in

Philip. 1. 2. & 1. *Tim* 3.

(c) *Origen* in 16 ad *Ro-*

man. (d) *Calo*. *Institut*.

(e) *Euseb*. 2. 24.

(f) de *scrip* & *Prasf* in

S. *Mark* & S. *Act*.

(h) de Script. c. 1. (i) Hierom. (j) Crisostom. (k) Ambrose
 1) H. ref. 66. (l) Epiphanius. (m) Augustine.
 de Crescentium. 1. 37

Could any then take it ill, that you said, That Episcopacy was received, in the Church, from the very next times to the Apostles: you said too little: you might have said more, and, if you had, Antiquity would have born you out; that it was received from the Apostles themselves: and that they, the Apostles themselves, were constituted in the Episcopal Order. There was nothing in that passage of yours that any could be offended with, unless, happily, that instead of [was called the Bishop] you should have said, *was the Bishop*. For we do not contend, about the Name; all the controversy is about the Thing.

This was done; for we must give one general dash through all the Ecclesiastical Historians. And when was it done? After the Ascension of our Lord: saith Eusebius,

(n) Presently upon the Passion of our Lord; so S. Hierom.
 (o) Done, by whom? They were placed in the Office of Episcopacy by the Apostles; (p) Tertulian. By the Apostles; so Epiphanius. By the Ministers of our Lord; so (q) Eusebius. Ordained by the Apostles; so (r) S. Hierom. Constituted by the Apostles; (s) so S. Ambrose. Will any man then deny, that S. James, S. Mark, Titus, Clements, were Bishops by Apostolical Right? Was any thing done by the Apostles, which was not by Apostolical Right? By Apostolical, i. e. as I interpret it, by Divine. For nothing was done by the Apostles, that the Holy Ghost, the Divine Spirit did not dictate to them. Sure (if by the Apostles) by the same Right, which those Seven were by, Acts. 6. whom, I am sure, you your self will grant to be by Divine Right; Does the Holy Scripture cloth no where call them; that is only a word of the Church. I hope, what the Apostles did, they did by Divine Right: and that

that it cannot be denyed, but their *Deeds* (of which we are certain) not only their *Words*, or *Writings*, are of *Divine Right*. And not only those things of which *S. Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*, (1) but those other also (1) 1. Cor. 14. which He set in order at His being at *Corinth*, (if they were known to us what they were,) were by the same right to wit, by *Divine*, all of them; both these and they from the *Holy Spirit*, all. And yet, though they be by *Divine Right*, we do not say these things belong to *Faith*. They belong to the *Agenda* or *Practice* of the *Church*; to the *Credenda*, or points of *Faith*, 'tis but improper to refer them.

'Tis very strange therefore which you say, *That your Countrymen openly complain of you*, both that you undertook the cause of *Bishops*; by like, your Country-men are enemies to *Bishops*; would not have their cause pleaded, but are desirous it should be lost: as also, that you condemned *Aerius*, who was anciently condemned in *Asia* by *Epiphanius*; in *Europe* by *Philastrius*; in *Africa*, by *S. Augustine*; whose name, all the world over, is in the *Black-Book of Heresicks*; nor undeservedly, seeing He durst oppose himself (as you your self confess) to the *Consent* and *Practice* of the *Catholic Church*. You should rather complain of them, who for this complain of you.

As for that where you would not have your papers to be ript up to the quick, I know no body here that doth it. Should any, he would have somewhat to stick upon in the very *Title*; take which word you will, that of *Pastor*, or that of *Calling*. They are both novelties; the word *Pastor*, (I'm sure, in this sense,) and *Calling*, too; and not of any *Age*, but this last, nor of all that. For, I pray, who of the *Antients* ever spake so? among whom you shall scarce find the word *Pastor* used, but when they speak of *Bishops*: which form of speech *S. Peter* taught them, 1. 3. Pet. 2. 2.

when he joined *Pastor* and *Bishop* in our Saviour.

Nor shall you ever read, that they, by that word, pointed out such as, either in *City* or *Country*, had the care of some few persons distinguished by *Parishes*: For that the *Presbyters* (*Urban*, or *Rural*) were by the *Bishop* designed to that imployment. Who, indeed, at the beginning, were of the *Bishops family*, and did live, as you very well know, of the *Sportula* [i. e. of the *Oblations of the Church*] before the distinction of *Parishes* came up.

And the word *Calling* (in the sense you take it) is altogether as unknown. In stead whereof they used the words *Ordination* or *Constitution*.

And the very name of *Minister* is of the same stamp: which they would never have understood to be spoken of any but a *Deacon*: as it is derived, indeed, from, no other fountain but, the Greek, *διακονω*. But we must pardon you: you must speak the language of your *Church*, which hath no *Bishops*; another kind of *Presbyters*, [Elders they call them,] another kind of *Deacons*; and, I add, another kind of *Calling*, then ever the *Ancient Church* acknowledged. I, for my part, in my best wishes for your *Church*, and so for all the *Reformed* do wish this, (that you may keep constant in the other points of *Faith*, but for *Government* and *Order* that God would vouchsafe to you no other but that which He hath vouchsafed Us, i. e. by *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Such as those we read of in the *Histories of the Church*, and in the *Councils*, and the *Ancient Fathers*: unto whom (or self-conceit shrewdly deceives me, or) most like are *Our*: most like, I say, in their *Order*, not in their *Worth*; but would to God in their *Worth* also. And that no *Policy*, no form of *Government* in any *Church* whatsoever cometh neerer the sense of *Scripture*, or the manner and usage of the *Ancient Church*, then this which flourisheth among us.

These

These I intrust to you, that, if you please, they may be with you. But know withall, that I have ever been, both by *Nature* and *Choice*, addicted to *Peace*. And my Age now requires it of me, who ere long must be packing: but chiefly living under a *King*, whose *Word* is that of our *Saviour*; *Blessed are the Peacemakers*. And, I assure you, I shall never incline to any immoderate or harsh counsels: but shall qualifie, as much as I may, your writings, with a fair interpretation. For neither can we brag of our happiness, more then antiently *S. Augustine* did, whose saying it was, *what we teach is one thing; what we are fain to tolerate, another.*



To
 C
 3
 remain in the Gospel, & the Christian Faith
 is set forth in the Gospel, & the Christian Faith
 remain in the Gospel, & the Christian Faith
 is set forth in the Gospel, & the Christian Faith



To the most Reverend Father,
the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

MY OF Reverend Prelate. I sent unto you my Book, concerning the Calling of Pastors: and with it some Letters, wherein I endeavour'd to satisfie you touching some points, wherein I seem'd to your most Gracious King too ill affected to the Order of Episcopacy. Which Letters if you have received, I doubt not but you will judge of me, as of a man who both thinketh and speaketh honourably of your Order. I am not so proudly arrogant as to oppose my self to all Antiquity; and to reject that as a thing faulty and wicked, which hath been received in the Church from the very first Age to the Apostles. I was ever of this mind, that concord might be kept whole and intire between Churches, living howere under a different form of Ecclesiastical Government: so that Christ be preached, as he is set forth in the Gospel, & the Christian Faith remain safe and sound. But, among the rest of your Order, I ever highlyest esteemed you, for many

many causes, which I had rather acquaint others, then *yourself* withall. As a witness of which my affection I send you this *new Book*, which the command of the *Church*, whom I serve, and the impudent insulting of a Court-lesuite forced from me. I desire that you would be a means to pacifie the *Kings* anger against me: That *He* would consider with *Himself*, and weigh it in an equal ballance, that there can be no place, in the *French Church*, for a Pastor that should teach the Primacy of *Bishops* to be of *Dixime Right*, without which there could be no *salvation*; without which the *Church* could not stand. To affirm this, were, nothing els but, to damn all *our Churches* to the pit of Hell, & to pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon my own Flock. Which should I do, you *yourself* would account me a senseless ungracious fellow, and worthy to be spit upon by all. But enough of this: For an overlabored Defence, specially to an understanding man, and in a clear and manifest point, is altogether needless. *God* preserve you, and prosper your endeavours, that they may redound to the edification of the *Church*. Farewell.

Paris. XVI. Calends
of Decemb. 1618.

Your Honors most devoted
Peter Adonin.

The



The Bishops Answer to the Second Epistle.

THe Post was not yet gone, he staid here a day or two, but he had these letters, here inclosed, sealed up as they are; when, lo, I received your Second, by the hands of *S. William Beecher*, Agent for the *King*, lately come from you. I presently recalled my former, yet opened them not, but, as they were, inclosed *them in these*. For I would not so trespass as to commit the same fault again; but rather make amends for my former *tardiness* with the *quickness* of this Answer. You shall therefore with my *First* receive these *Second*, together with my thanks for both: but [*surveys*] the *First Second*, as it were; to wit, in these *Second* Letters my *First* thanks now, and in the *First* my *Second*, (as it falls out.) Thanks, I say, both for that your *Book*, formerly sent; and this *Later*, shortly, as I hope, to be sent. For *S. William Beecher* will deny either that it was bound (when he came thence) or els brought to him; and in that consideration he came the later to me: but he bad me look for it, for that I should not look in vain.

As for pacifying the Kings anger against you, beleeve me, you need not much trouble your self. There is nothing in *Him*, which needs pacifying: there are ways wherby you may more and more gain *him*, and make *him* yours: and it would be worth your labour, if you do it. And do it you may, if you take that course, which you

you cannot learn better of any man living, then of *himself*. As for me, I gladly acknowledg that *you* are more moderate toward *us*, then most of your men commonly are: and, the more you convers with *Antiquity*, will be daily more and more: nay, I add, and much more would be, if *your Church* would give you leave; and I would to *God*, it would. It should seem that *shee* hath transfer'd the faults of *Persons* upon *Things*; and, for some *abuse*, hath taken away the *lawful use*: a fault which you should by little and little unlearn *Her*. You, while you follow and sway with it, follow not the bent of your own mind and iudgment; for I iudg of *your affection* by your *pen*; which was so well inclin'd toward *us*, that it had wrote (and, I think, not against your mind) that *Our Order of Bishops was a thing received in the Church even from the time of the Apostles*. And indeed your pen had wrote very right: *Mary*, you blotted out [*of the Apostles*] and, in leiu of it, put in [*next to the Apostles.*] But this, I beleewe, you did in favour of *your Church*. And, indeed, that was very true, which you put in [*next to the Apostles*] but that not a whit less true, which you blotted out. For *that Order* was not only from the *Age next to the Apostles*, but even from the *very Age of the Apostles*; or els all *Antiquity* deceives us, and ther's not a *Church-History* left worth credit. That all *Antiquity* is for *us*, you your self deny not; and whether *we* must yeeld more to any *present Church*, then to all *Antiquity*, iudg you. If I know you well, the more free and ingenuous I am in writing this to you, you will love me the better: and so shall I you, if you deal as freely with me in it.

Hear me then, I pray. This is not enough for *us*, if a man do not reject *Our Church Catechisme*, as a thing faulty or sinfull: for this is it *we* stand upon, that it

may be clear, and confessed by all, that the *Government* of our Church is such, as cometh most neer to the *form* and *manner* of the *Ancient Church*, or (as you grant) that, *next to the Apostles*, or (as you had once wrote, and we contend for it.) of the *Apostolick Church*. And, that you are of the same judgment with us, I doubt not. If then, by your Churches leave, you would once speak out, you should do us a curtesie; if you may not, no discourtesie, if for the future you would let Our affairs alone. For, that way you are in, it will scarce be possible for you, both to please your own, and not to displease us. And yet, though Our Government be by *Divine Right*, it follows not, either that there is *no salvation*, or that a Church cannot stand, without it. He must needs be *sense-blind*, that sees not Churches standing without it. He must needs be *made of iron*, and *hard hearted*, that denies them *salvation*. We are not made of that metal, we are none of those *Ironsides*; We put a wide difference betwixt them. Somewhat may be wanting, that is of *Divine Right*, (at least in the *external Government*) and yet *Salvation* may be had. So that you shall not need to *dann them to the pit of Hell*, or pronounce the sentence of *condemnation upon your flock*. This is not to *dann* any thing, to prefer a better thing before it: This is not to *dann your Church*, to recall it to another form, that all *Antiquity* was better pleased with, i. e. to *Our*: but this, when God shall grant the opportunity, and your estate may bear it. If we do but agree upon *this point*, in all the rest we shall not fall out. But yet we wish not a concord, that is but pieced and patched up, but an intire, absolute agreement, without any piecing and patching: which, we doubt not but, you like-
wise wish with us.

Mr. Andrews's Episcopacy. His Epistle.

25

If any thing remain, I remit you to my former :
 (for we are here, now, full of business.) These I re-
 commend to your favorable acceptance : and so I
 commend you in mine, and desire you to recommend
 me in your prayers to God. Farewell.

To the most Reverend and most

London, Decemb.
 12. 1618.

I received your Letter, and will both of choice fill, and of the
 testimony of your good affection
 to me, for although you seem to
 be a little more moved than ordinary, yet
 that great sweetness which you temper your
 reproaches with, putting in hope that your
 good will will be the more, and that
 you will be my friend, and honor to
 my Ministry. It is a great honor to
 be taught by a man of so great learning and
 worth. Neither indeed did I write to that
 end, that you should write to me again : for
 it is abundantly sufficient for me, if you take
 my Letters in good part. Nor are my wi-
 tings of any such value, that they should be-
 get you any trouble, or take you off from
 your

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To

It is the thing which I have written to you in the former
 (for) the most
 of the
 of the



26

To the most Reverend and most
 worthy Prelate, the Lord Bishop
 of Winchester.



Great Sir. I received your Letters, full both of choice stuff, and of the testimony of your good affection to me. For although you seem to be a little more moved then ordinary, yet that great sweetness, which you temper your reproofs with, puts me in hope that your goodwill is not lessned toward me, and that you will readily accept of this my satisfaction. It is to my great profit and honor to be taught by you; nor am I so senseless as to contend with a man of so great learning and worth. Neither indeed did I write to that end, that you should write to me again: for it is abundantly sufficient for me, if you take my Letters in good part. Nor are my writings of any such value, that they should beget you any trouble, or take you off from
 your

your more weighty affairs. If therefore any thing was written by me amiss, I am much indebted to that my error, which hath drawn from you so learned and accurate Letters, that no gold can value, and weigh against them; which I shal keep by me, while I live, as a most pretious ^{revelation} and treasure.

Nevertheless, because you seem to me not to have reached my meaning in some passages of my former Letters, you will pardon me, if I endeavour in these to explain my mind a little more fully.

I said that the Names of *Presbyter* and *Bishop* are taken in the *New Testament* for one and the same.

That the *Order of Bishop* and *Presbyter* is the same.

That the *difference* between *Bishop* and *Presbyter* is but of *Ecclesiastical*, not of *Divine Right*.

These things you wish had not been said by me. And you bring many Arguments to the contrary, indeed, learnedly and accurately, but wherof a good part toucheth not me, Breisly of each.

You deny not but the Names of *Presbyter* and *Bishop* are promiscuously taken in the *New*

I —

II —

III —

I —

D. Moulins Of Episcopacy. III. Epist.
Testament. But, you say, to what purpose
 this? Forsooth, you think that I tacitly in-
 sinuate therby, that the *Things* likewise are
promiscuous. For no man, likely, carps at the
Name; but he that is ill affected to the *Thing*.
 And you add, that the *Fathers*, in those very
 places, wherein they teach that the *Names* are
 taken in the same sense, do presently apply a
 remedy, and add, that this afterward was o-
 therwise; and that the *Names*, as well as the
Offices, were and are distinct.

Here it is easie for us to prove to you that
 I had no purpose to abuse the passivity of
 the *Names*, therby to confound the *Fun-*
ctions. For there I presently apply the same
 remedy, which, you truly say, was applyed by
 the *Fathers*. For I subjoin: Presently after
 the times of the *Apostles*, or even in their times,
 as the *Ecclesiastical History* beareth witness, it
 was decreed, that in one City, One of the other
Presbyters should be call'd the *Bishop*, who for
 avoyding of confusion, which groweth oftentimes by
 equality, should have Preeminence among his
Collegues. And this form of Government was
 every where received by all Churches. These
 very words were added by me there, which
 do abundantly wipe off that suspicion.

Could

Could I possibly wish all *Roman Orders*, whether of I never spake without honor, as I very well knowing that the Reformation of the Church of England, and the rejection of Popery, next to God and your Princes, is chiefly to be ascribed to the learning and industry of your *Bishops*; some of whom, being crowned with *Martyrdom*, sealed the Gospel with their blood. Whose ~~worth~~ we keep by us, whose ~~acts~~ and zeal we remember, as no way inferior to the zeal of the most eminent *Servants of God*, whom either *France* or *Germany* brought forth. Whosoever shall deny this, must needs be either senselessly wicked, or (as envying Gods glory,) too foolishly affected) notified at high noon. I desire therefore this suspicion may be wiped off from me! specially, when I take notice that even *Cabot* and *Baker*, whom they usually pretend as *equal* betters of their peevishness, wrote many Letters to the *Bishops of England*, and intreated them as the faithful servants of God; as men that deserved well of the Church. Not and such a bold face, as to pass sentence upon those *Lights of the Antient Church*, *Ignatius*, *Polyarp*, *Cyprian*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, *Basil*, the *Two Gregories*, *Nissen* and *Narsian*.

that all of them Bishops, as upon men wrongfully made, or usurpers of an unlawfull office. The reverend Antiquity of those First Ages shall be to be in greater esteem with me, then the new device of any who follow.

— II

I come to the Second part of your censure. I said that there is but One Order of Bishop and Presbyters. You contrarywise are of opinion that the Order of Bishops is another and diverse from that of Presbyters: and to that purpose bring many testimonies from the Fathers; who speak of the Ordination of Bishops: neither do I oppose; for the Antient's speak so, indeed. And although the Roman Pontificall abbeins from that word, yet the Ancient Bishops of Rome did use it. Leo the ninth in his 87. Epistle, which is to the Bishops of the Province of Vienna, commandeth, I that a Bishop who is not rightly ordained, be displaced and, in the same Epistle, he often useth the same word. Now between an Order and a Degree you make this difference; that a Degree denotes only a Superiourity; but an Order is a power to a special Act: That therefore every Order is a Degree, but not every Degree an Order. Very well. For though many do not observe this difference of words,

words, yet it is best to use proper terms; that things which differ in substance, be distinguished in names, too. But these do not prejudice me at all. For you should have considered with your self, whom I have to deal with. I dispute against the Pontificians, who make *Seven Orders*; *Door keepers, Readers, Exorcists, Acolyths, Subdeacons, Deacons, Presbyters*: but the Order or character of *Bishops* they will by no means have to be diverse from that of *Presbyters*. Could I, disputing with *them*, use other words, then such as are receiv'd by *them*? Could I deal with *them* about the Order of *Bishops*, which they acknowledge not? Should I have inveigh'd against *them* for not making the Order of *Bishops* distinct from that of *Presbyters*, when *our own Churches* make it not? He that should do this, should not so much contest with the *Church of Rome*, as with *our own*. Then to what purpose is it to insist so much upon the distinction of Words? since every Order is, by *S. Paul*, call'd a *Degree*. Nor can a *Bishop* be 1. Tim. 3:13 depriv'd of his Orders, but he must be degraded, and fall from his *Degree*. I pray, weigh my words well: Every *Bishop* is a *Presbyter*, Lib. de Mu-
nere Pabo-
rum pag.
144. and a *Priest of the Body of Christ*; and of these

D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy*. III. Epist.
the Church of Rome makes but one Order. It
 plainly appears that I do not in these words
 affirm, what ought to be believed, but what
 is the sense of the Church of Rome.

But heer somewhat falls in, which may be-
 get a doubt. It is confess'd by all, that every
Bishop is a *Presbyter*: but a *Presbyter* is not a
Deacon. Hence it comes to pass, that there is
 another manner of difference betwixt a *Bi-*
shop and a *Presbyter*, then betwixt a *Presbyter*
 and a *Deacon*. Since therefore a *Presbyter*
 differs in *Order* from a *Deacon*, it seems to
 follow that a *Bishop* differs not in *Order* from
 a *Presbyter*.

Nor is it without some doubt, that you
 say, that *Order* is a power to a special *Act*. For
 a power to a special *Act* is given to many
 without *Order*; as to them who are extraordi-
 narily delegated to the performance of some
 special actions. Then you deny that *Archbi-*
shops are another *Order* from *Bishops*. And yet
 an *Archbishop* hath a power to some special ac-
 tions; as namely, to call a *Synod*, and to do
 other offices, which are not lawfull for *Bi-*
shops; and which are not permitted to *Arch-*
bishops themselves under the *Papacy*, but
 when they have received the *Archiepiscopal*
Pall

fall from the Pope. You, out of your great wisdom, will consider, whether it be apparent by these, that the power to a special *Action* may be conferr'd, even by a *Dekret*, without a *Diversity* of Order.

The Third point is still behind: to wit, that I said, that *Episcopacy* is by the most *Antient Ecclesiastical*; but yet not by *Divine Right*. You on the other side resolve and maintain that it is by *Divine Right*: and to that purpose produce many examples of *Bishops*, *S. Mark*; *Timothy*; *Titus*; *Clement*; *Polycarp*; *S. James*, *Bishop of Hierusalem*; all who received the Order of *Episcopacy* from the *Apostles* themselves. And you quote a great number of *Fathers*, who affirm as much. (Learnedly all, and according to the truth of the *Primitive History*.) But what then? Why, say you, if *Bishops* were constituted by the *Apostles*, plain it is that the Order of *Episcopacy* is by *Apostolical*; and so consequently by *Divine Right*. This indeed is to make your self master of the whole strength of the cause. But that Axiom of yours [*All things that are of Apostolical Right are likewise of Divine*] seems to me (by your good leave) to be liable to some exceptions. Many things were

III—

ordered about Ecclesiastical Policy, which even the Church of England acknowledgeth not to be of *Divine Right*, by not observing the same. S. Paul in *1. Timoth. v.* would have Deacons appointed in the Church. But this fashion was long ago out of date. The same S. Paul *1. Corinth. xv.* would that, at the same Hour, in the same Assembly, Three or Four should prophecy, i. e. as S. Ambrose understands it, Interpret the Word of God; and that the others should judge of what was spoken: which custome is long since ceased. The Apostles command, touching abstinence from things strangled and blood, was for many Ages observed by the Antient Church: witness the *Apologie* of Tertullian, chap. ix. the Council of Gangra, Canon, II. and the Trullan, Canon LXVI. and there is frequent mention of the same point in the Councils of Worms and Orleance. yet S. Augustine, in his xxxi. Book against Faustus, chap. xi. saith that Observing hereof was generally neglected by the Christians; and that they who were posses'd with that scruple were laugh'd at by others. You have, not the Apostles alone, but even, that precept of Christ himself, Touching shaking off the dust of the

the feet, against the refusers of the Gospel! If any should now go about to lay the foundation of *Christian Religion*, among the *Tartars* or *Sinenses*, were he bound to observe that Rite against the refractory? Such things as appertain to *Salvation* and to *Faith* were ordered by the *Apostles*, by a *Divine Inspiration*; but in the rest they did often use their own prudence; as *S. Paul* intimates, 1. *Corinth.* 7. 25.

Nor are you ignorant, so oft as examples are brought of *Bishops* placed by the *Apostles*, in a higher degree above *Presbyters*, what is commonly answered: *viz.* that they had not that preeminence, as *Bishops*, but as *Evangelists*: of whose superiority above *Pastors* somewhat you may have in *S. Chrysostom*, on the iv. to the *Ephesians*. Which reply of what strength it is, I had rather stand to your iudgment, than any mans. Indeed *S. Ambrose*, on that same place, makes *Evangelists* inferior to *Bishops*, and without *Seas*. Yet, however you shall call *Titus*, *Timothy*, and *S. Mark*, whether *Bishops* or *Evangelists*, it is clear they had *Bishops* their successors and heirs of their preeminence.

You determine therefore that our Churches do offend against the *Divine Right*; yet so,

as you exclude them not from hope of salvation; but do think, that, in our Church Government, men may attain to Salvation: for this you brought in, in your Second Letter, that you might deal the kindlier with us. But in your larger, you liken us, in this point, to *Aerius*; who, you say, was deservedly, upon this ground, by the *Antients* put in the *black Book of Hereticks*. Herein, Great Sir, I appeal to your equity. Think with your self, what streits you drive me to. For, if I should have spoke, as you conceive it, I could not but necessarily accuse our Church of *Heresie*; and so doing, be forced ~~even to~~, to be packing, to leave my station here, and to provide for myself as I could. Nor could I say that the *Primacy of Bishops* is by *Divine Right* but I should brand our Churches, (which have spilt so much blood for Christ) with *Heresie*. For, questionless, to be obstinately set against such things, as are of *Divine Right*, and peremptorily to gainsay what God commands, is *downright Heresie*, whether it concern *Faith* or *Discipline*. Besides that I should have overthrown that Principle, wherewith chiefly our Religion defends her self against Popery, viz. That what things are by *Divine Right* are sufficiently

sufficiently and evidently contain'd in the Holy Scriptures.

I hear what you will reply: That it had been safer and better for me, to have been silent in these points, then it to be writing so unseasonably. Because therby it comes to pass that I must necessarily offend our own Church, or your; nay, haply, both. And to tell you truth, I had rather have been silent: for very unwillingly I sett my mind to write; nor did I write, but upon command. *Arnoldus* the *Iesuite*, the *Kings Confessor*, publikely and in the pulpit, before *His Majestie*, inveigh'd against the Confession of our Church, and further in a pestilent book revil'd it, wherein he mightily insults over us, in this question, and odiously seeks to overthrow our Churches Government: This book coming to be sold all over France, through the high ways and streets, at the voice of a Cryer, did greatly scandalize many. Nay, before this, the Pulpits, the Markets, the Court, the Streets, and the very Barbers shops, rang with this question. This is the field wherein wanton wits sport themselves daily. How earnestly my Book was look'd for, which should stop that insolency, it doth thence appear

appear, that, in Four months space, it was nine times printed. I could not therefore shun this task. Nor was it possible to write exactly of that Argument, but I must begin with the signification of the words, *Bishop* and *Presbyter*; and treat of the *Original* of the *Office*. But here I took occasion to speak honorably of the *Bishops* of *England*. I deriv'd the dignity of *Bishops*, from the very *infancy* of the *Church*. I condemn'd *Aerius*. I said that *S. James* himself was *Bishop* of *Hierusalem*: from whom in a long course, the succession of *Bishops* of that *City* is deduced. Only this one thing was wanting, *viz.* that I did not say that *our Church* was *heretical*, and did trample the *Divine Right* under her feet; which, indeed, I neither could nor ought to do; yea, had I done it, you your self would have noted that want of prudence in me.

This may serve for the Three chief points: To which you further add this *Epistle* or *collary*; namely, your judgment touching the *Title* of my book, [which I wrote for *France*,] *Of the Calling of Pastors*. These words, you say, are *novell*, and never used by any of the *Antients* in this sense. I acknowledge

ledg, indeed, that the word *Calling* is unusual among the *Antients*, nor taken in that sense. But we *Frenchmen* speak otherwise : for as many as have wrote of that Argument, either *Our*, or *Papists* use this word : which, with us, signifies somewhat more then *Ordination* ; for it is taken for the *Office* it self. If I had wrote in *Latin*, I should have given this *Title*, of the *Office* and *Ordination* of *Pastors*.

Neither would you have all *Presbyters* and *Ministers of the Word of God*, to be called by the name of *Pastors*. For this word, you say, belongs only to *Bishops*, (and that the *Antients* spake so.) If this be true, Worthy Sir, the *Churches* in *France*, *Germany*, *Lowcountrys* and *Helvetia*, are flocks without a *Pastor*. But *S. Paul*, *Acts* the xx commandeth the *Presbyters* of *Ephesus*, *pascere*, i. e. to be *Pastors* of the *Church*. v. 17. & 28. And *S. Peter*, in his i. *Epist.* 5. ch. 1. 2. v. The *Presbyters*, who are among you, I exhort, — *Pascite*, feed the flock of *God*, which is among you, taking the oversight therof, not by constraint but willingly; not for filthy lucre : which exhortation to diligence, and shunning filthy lucre, no doubt, belongs also to the inferior *Presbyters*. Now to think that they ought not be called *Pastors*, whom

40 D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy* III. Epist.
God commands *Pascere*, to feed the flock;
I cannot persuade my self. But, if the
Word of God be *Pabulum*, the food of
Souls, I see not why he should not be
call'd a *Pastor*, who doth administer *this*
food. S. *Paul* in the fourth to the *Ephesians*,
verse, 11. makes an enumeration of *Ec-*
clesiastical Offices: God gave some *Aposiles*,
some *Prophets*, some *Evangelists*, some *Pa-*
stors and *Teachers*. If *Presbyters* who la-
bour in the *Word*, whom we *Frenchmen*
call *Ministers*, be not understood under the
name of *Pastors*, I see not what place they
can have in this enumeration of the *Apostle*.
S. *Augustine*, in his 59. *Epistle*, saith, that
Pastors and *Doctors*, here, are the same.
The same thinketh S. *Hierom*, upon this
place of S. *Paul*. *Vincentius Lirinensis*, ex-
pounding this place, maketh no mention
of *Pastors*, but comprehends them vnder
Doctors, whom he calls *Treatisers*, who
certainly were a different thing from *Bi-*
shops. But that *Bishops* only are *Doctors*, I
never yet read any where. S. *Ambrose* is so
far from thinking the name of *Pastors* to
belong only to *Bishops*, that he even calls
Readers, *Pastors*. *Readers*, saith he, are,
and

41

D. Mculin's *Of Episcopacy*. III. Epist.
and may be Pastors, who fatten the souls of
their Auditors with Reading. The term Pa-
stor is usual among the Prophets: Prophet
Isaiah. 58. 11. Prophet Jeremiah. 10. 21.
and 22. 22. and 23. 1. 2. Prophet Eze-
chiel. 34. 2. and Prophet Zachariah. 10. 3.
Which places whosoever shall weigh in the
even ballance of judgment, he shall find,
that under the name of Pastors were rec-
kon'd not only the cheif Priests, or the
heads of the Levites but all the Prophets and
Levites, upon whom the Office of teaching
lay.

But the following matter, and my
earnest desire to satisfie you, hath carried
me beyond my bounds. I have too too
much abus'd your leasure. Yet shall not
this my pains be ill bestowed, if you
shall take notice hereby, how much I e-
steem you, how desirous I am of peace,
how glad I would be that all the Refor-
med Churches, who are united by one Faith,
were also united by one and the same bond
of Ecclesiastical Government. I beseech you,
Sir, accept in good part this my ingenu-
ous liberty, which truly shall never de-
tract from that observance and honor,

F 2

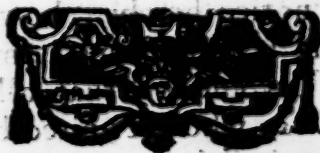
which,

D. Moulin's *Of Episcopacy*. III. Epist.
which, I shall ever profess before the
world, I ow unto you. God preserve You,
and grant You a fresh and lively old age,
with the increase of all honor and hap-
piness. Farewell.

Dated Paris.

Your Honors most devoted
in all observance.

Peter Moulin.





The Bishops Answer to the Third Epistle.



Never could learn this trick of sawing, or (which is all one) of tossing replies. No, not, when my years were fitter for it. But now old age, which of it self is a disease, and yet never cometh without diseases attending it, plucks me by the ear, and bids me get me out of this cockpit, and rank my self with them, whose whole business is *Prayer*. Nevertheless, because in this skirmishing, it hath happen'd to us both alike, *viz*, that we have not reach'd one anothers meaning, I shall, not unwillingly, more fully and plainly expound my mind to you, as you did your to me.

That which I first meet withall is but a slight matter; for I do not understand at all, how I was any whit more mov'd then ordinary. Neither do I remember ought of yours, that mov'd me more then ordinary; nay that mov'd me at all; but only that you said, that some passages of yours had griev'd the *Kings* soul. That word [griev'd] griev'd me somewhat, I confess, and mov'd me more then ordinary: Besides, nothing that I remember.

His Majestie had made *three dashes* upon your Book. Touching *them* you would know of me, what my mind was, what I thought. I answered, as was truth, where the *King* had made *them*; *they* ought to be made.

The first place, noted by the King, was that, *concerning the passivity of the words*, (as you speak.) I said it

B. Andrews's *Of Episcopacy*. III. ¶ pist.

was justly noted. Here you did not reach my meaning; for you take it for all one, as if I had said *that you thereby did secretly insinuate*, I know not what. But that came not into my thoughts. I did not say, what *you did thereby insinuate*, but *what others would snatch at from thence*. For, questionless, *snatch at* they will, as if you *did insinuate*, though you did not, as men are, and stand affected. I, for my part, do not deny, that *those words* are taken for *one and the same*; and so far you are right. This I deny, that those things which are right may all of them, safely, by any man, at any time, be committed to writing. For you must consider, not so much what you might *mean* there, as what *others* would *snatch* from thence. Our writings must be regulated by that of the *Apostle*, *Not what is lawfull, but what is expedient*. See you, whether this controversie be seasonable at this time; and whether it were advisedly done by you; and whether it be not expedient, *in order to the dispute*, to cut off occasions from them, who earnestly *snatch at* all occasions of setting novelties afoot. Perhaps, I fear what is safe enough, but I fear though, lest, an occasion being taken from hence, those stirrs unhappily break out again, which seemed wholly to be made up among us.

Nor was I ever of that opinion, I never wrote it; *that afterward it was otherwise done*. That was not done otherwise afterward, which was done by the *Apostles themselves*. It is *S. Chrysostom*: *were there many Bishops in one City?* by no means. It is *S. Hierom*: *For in one City there could not be many Bishops*. It is *Theodoret*: *It could not be, that there should be many Pastors in one City*. Of what time are these to be understood? When were there not? When could there not be those *many Pastors in one City*? What, when *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Hierom* or *Theodoret* lived? doubtless, when the *Apostle* wrote that to the *Philippians*. I could

not possibly say then; that that was done *afterward*, which they said was done, even when the *Apostle lived and wrote.*

I said, that the *remedy* was *there* applied by the *Fathers.* You say that the *same* was applied by you. Applied, I grant; but truly, neither the *same*, nor in the *same* place.

For, 1. their [*προβουλευσις*] *their preventive caution* was premis'd before they *speak.* Your [*δυσπαιστεια*] yours is but a playster layd on, after the wound is made.

2. What you say by way of disjunction, *viz. either immediately after the time of the Apostles, or even in their time,* that would not they have said so; but, as truth was, without any disjunction, without the former part. That it was done, *in the very time of the Apostles, and by themselves.*

3. Then, no where do they say, that *any constitution* was made about it. Nor do I think you will ever read of any such [*δυναμις* or] *constitution*, in any History. We read, indeed, in the *Acts*, that the *Order of Deacons* was *constituted by them:* of *Presbyters*, of *Bishops*, there was *no constitution:* for *Bishops* were formerly instituted by *Christ* in the *Apostles*; and *Presbyters* in the *Seventy Two.*

4. Nor only, that any was called *Bishop*, but that he *was* a *Bishop.* For there were no *Titular Bishops* then: they had their *Name* from their *Office:* they were called what they *were*; they *were*, what they were called.

5. Nor that should be only with *preeminence*, but that should be invested with *power: power*, I say, of *Imposition of hands*, of *commanding*, of *receiving informations*, of *reproving.*

6. Nor only, to *take away Confusion*, which is contrary to *Order*; but also to *take away Schism*, which is contrary to *Unity.* Not for *these two* only, but also for *all other*

other ends, for which, we said, that power was given.

You see that the *Fathers* had *another gates remedy* for this disease : and that those speeches of yours, *It was constituted ; That should be called ; should have the preeminence ;* are too narrow ; and I add, by your leave, too weak and dilute ; nor the same with those, which are the ingredients of that medicine, which the *Fathers* made.

But yet I have a mind here to put the question ; *If Confusion commonly grows from Equality*, how comes it to pass, that there is no need of this remedy among you ?

Again ; if it be true, *that this Form of Government was received every where by all Churches ;* that, which was *every where* receiv'd by all, why doth not your *Ghurch* receive ? why doth *She* only run counter to *all the Churches*, which then were *every where* ? For that is a most true word, you said, and deserv'd an asterisk of commendation, *That all Churches everywhere receiv'd this Form of Government*. Nor were there ever, before *this Age*, any *Churches*, which were governed by any *oiber*, then by *Bisbops*.

Wherefore there was no cause at all, *that you should go about to wipe off that suspicion*, (for I had none of you,) *that you were not well affected to our Order*. I shall never be induced to beleieve it ; for I cannot but give credit to you, affirming it in your Letters, that *your Countrymen complain of you*, for favoring and wishing so well vnto it. Indeed, that you wish well, I doubt not at all ; but therefore I am more perswaded by your *word*, then by your *arguments*.

For here you slip from the *Order* to the *Persons* of *Bisbops* : of whose *Learning*, *Industrie*, *Martyrdom*, you speak much and excellently. But there were, as you know

know, of old, men that hated the *Tyrant*; but not his *Tyranny*: and why not now, men that love *Bishops*; but not the *Government* by *Bishops*. Pass by the *men* therefore; it matters not for *them*; speak of the *Order* it self. For *Calvin* himself, and *Beza*, if they wrote to our *Prelates*, know, that they wrote likewise to *them*; whom you call *peruiss*: and that their Letters, which these present for their *peruissness*, are produced by *them*; and thus they oft reply, To what purpose do I hear *Calvins* words, when I see his *Deeds*? For the *Order* it self, if it be such as you would have it seem, the *Bishops* of *England* cannot make it better, nor of *Spain* worse. I advis'd you not to transferr the faults of *Persons* upon *Things*; and to unlearn your *Church* that custom.

As for those *Antients*, whom you worthily call the *Lights* of the *Church*, and who themselves were *Bishops*, though you say much, yet you say not enough. For this is not enough, That you would not give sentence against *them*; That they were not wrongfully made; That they did not usurp an unlawfull Office: These are but terms of diminution, Not give sentence against; Not wrongfully made; not usurpers of an unlawfull Office; speak out, speak as the truth is, That they were lawfully made; (lawfully, if ever any) and did exercise a most lawfull Office: That ours, at this day, are to be made after their example: That the same Office is to be exercised by all Ours: These speak home to the *Order*, are nothing to the *Men*.

But, whatever become of those passages, I cannot but commend your conclusion there; nor shall I stick to set an asterisk of approbation upon it: I would to God that might put an end to the whole controversie betwixt us. It is this: The venerable Antiquity of these first Ages shall be ever in greater esteem with me then the new upstart device of any who soever. O would to God, that Antiquity

might be more and more in esteem with you with all: for if Antiquity might prevail; if these *new upstart devices* were discarded, then, sure, the Cause of this Order could not be in danger.

— II

The Second dash of dislike set by His Majesty, and very justly, was at that place; where you contend that the Order of Bishop and Presbyter is one and the same. I have shew'd that it is *not the same*.

Both, 1. Because the Offices are *not the same*. For a Presbyter doth *not* Ordain; no, not in S. Hieroms iudgment.

As also, 2. Because there is *not the same Imposition of hands*; but a *new one* in a Bishop.

Again, 3. Because, among the Fathers, Isidore clearly calls it the Order of Bishop.

And lastly, 4. Because those Two Orders were distinguished by Christ in the Apostles, and the Seventy Two.

Here you produce to us the Title of the Pontifical; which is concerning Consecration, not Ordination. I shew'd that the Ancient Bishops, even of Rome it self, spake otherwise; otherwise the Later Popes. Among the Ancient, that the word Ordination was most usual, and most approved.

You appeal to the Schole. I acquainted you, in what sense the Schole calls them the same, or not the same. The same, in reference to the Body of Christ; upon which they terminate their Seven Orders: About the Body of Christ a Presbyter doth as much as a Bishop. You your self say as much: Of these in respect of the Body of Christ, the Church of Rome makes but one Order. *Not the same*; if you respect the power to a special Act, viz. of Ordination, which is peculiar to a Bishop. This is *not mine*; as you imagin'd, but the definition of Orders, all the Schole over. Nor yet that difference, which afterward you put upon me: both of them are from the Schole; both definition and difference.

ence. These things, if you would speak *Scholastically*, were not to be deny'd by you, who appeal'd to the *Schole*.

But to what purpose do you say, *that you deal with or, that you dispute against the Pontificians, who will not have the Order of Bishops distinct from that of Presbyters?* And yet presently you subjoin: *Ought I to inveigh against them, (viz. the Pontificians) because they do not make the Order of Bishops distinct from that of Presbyters, when Our Churches do not make it neither? He that should do this, should not so much contest with the Church of Rome, as with our own.* You dispute therefore against them, but yet you will not *inveigh* against them: you dispute against the *Pontificians*, and yet you *allege* their *Pontifical*. You dispute against them, yet *your own Churches* do the self same thing. Nor yet will you affirm, *what ought to be believ'd, but what the Church of Rome thinketh: which thinketh the very same that your Church doth; and your Church, I beleeve, you would have to be believ'd.* You do not therefore contest with the *Pontificians*; for, I trow you have no mind to contest with *your own*. 'Twere against your Religion: so to do. Nevertheless *your Church*, as you confess, doth the same thing in this point, that the *Roman* doth.

You say it is *best to use proper terms, that the things which differ in substance be distinguished in Name:* and yet in the same page, afterward, as if you were somewhat angry, you ask, *To what end is it, to stick so much upon the distinction of Words?* To what end then is it, to make proper words, which are made proper for no other end, but for *distinction*? If this be to no end, it is better, trust me, neither to use proper words, nor to make any words at all proper; for we must use the better, both you, and we.

52 B. Andrews: Of Episcopacy III. Epist.

Notwithstanding this, why do you reject the distinction of words, here? Because, every Order (you say) is a Degree. What then? Since every Degree is not an Order, if we will use proper words. Deaconry, in S. Paul, is a Degree; and the same is an Order with all men. But Arch-deaconship is a new Degree, and yet no Order. Nor can a Bishop be outed of his Order, but he must be degraded (say you) or fall from his Order. Yea, but he may be degraded, though he be not outed of his Order; for of his Order he can no way be outed. For after (that, which they call) Degradation, there remaineth a power to the Acts of his Order: the use of which power may be inhibited; the power it self cannot be taken away.

But here some scruples arise in your mind. The First is: that every Bishop is a Presbyter: very true that, and confest by all. But a Presbyter, you say, is not a Deacon. Among you, haply, he is not, according to your novell device: But with that Reverend Antiquity (which you speak of) he is: Nay, then, a Bishop himself is a Deacon: Read S. Chrysostom, Even a Bishop was call'd a Deacon; whereupon S. Paul, writing to Timothy, said, Fulfill thy Deaconry; to him, being a Bishop. Whence also it is, that many Bishops now adays write, to my Fellow-Presbyter, to my Fellow-Deacon. Read S. Ambrose, on the 4. to the Ephesians. For all Orders are in a Bishop; because he is the first Priest, i. e. the Prince of Priests. And, on the 1. to the Corinth: 12. Though Apostles be Prophets too; for the first Degree hath all other under it. I may truly therefore infer the contrary; Seeing a Bishop differs not from a Presbyter, by any other way of difference; then a Presbyter doth from a Deacon; But a Presbyter differs from a Deacon in his Order; therefore it is agreeable, that a Bishop differ from a Presbyter in his Order. This ever seem'd agreeable to the consent of Antiquity. I wonder that these things escap'd you:

you; for I dare not suspect, that what are so obvious to all are unknown to you. But the *Deaconry*, in use among you, deceived you; a meer stranger it, I speak it boldly, to all *Antiquity* (with whom *Deacons* were ever one part of the Clergy.)

The Second scruple. That Order is a power to a special Act, I say not of myself; the whole *Schole* saith so; it is the definition of Order received in the *Scholes*; speak you, if you have another; for I remember not that I have any where read of any other. Your scruple here ariseth from them, who (say you) are *extraordinarily delegated* to the performance of certain Acts. I rejoin: What have they who are delegated without Order, to do with Order? The very word Order requireth that this be understood of ordinary power.

The Third Scruple. An *Archbishop* hath a power to a special Act. What Act? To call a Synod. I ease you of this scruple also. This Act is not special to an *Archbishop*: for a *Bishop* exerciseth the same Act: He doth as much call a Synod in his *Diocese*; as the other doth in his *Province*. Though, if we will speak truly, the calling of Synods is a special Act to neither of them, but is by Delegation from the Prince; by whose Laws there is special provision against unlawful Assemblies. You, in your wisdom, see, that nothing appears here, why either by a Degree any Power may be conferrd, or by an Order may not be conferrd.

The Third dash of dislike was upon your denying *Episcopacy* to be of Divine Right. you grant it to be of *Apostolical*. But that serves not you to make it be of Divine Right. No, not among us, who do not observe certain things which were appointed by the *Apostles*.

For, 1. not *Widows*. I read of no command there for the appointing of *Widows*; but for *Ephesus*, and those Churches,

Churches, which had *Widows*, there is a command touching *their Age*. The institution of *widows*, was left free to every *Church*. For none were to maintain *Widows*, unless they would; and, indeed, they could not be maintained among the poorer.

Not, 2. that Custom for three or four to prophesy at one hour. But that Custom was, clearly, *extraordinary*; and the extraordinary gifts ceasing, that ceased too.

Not, 3. to abstain from things strangled, & blood. Yea, but that was *temporary*, not appointed by the *Apostles*, with any other intention, then, to be in force, during the non-burial of the *Synagoge*; the *Synagoge* once buried, to be free, to observe or not.

So your first instance was, *not necessary*; your second, *not ordinary*; your third, *temporary, not perpetual*. These do not make a *Divine Right*.

But, that the *Precepts* of the *Apostles* may not be of *Divine Right*, you will not have that of *Christ*, touching shaking off the dust of their feet, to be so, neither. But, in truth, *this is no Precept*; but, if a *Precept*, of *Divine Right*. For, I hope, you will not say that *Christ* commanded *this*, using his *Prudence*, without *Divine inspiration*. No man ever understood that, *extra pariter*, according to the *Letter*; and that upon this ground; because it was sometimes observed, sometime altered, sometime quite omitted: not according to the *Letter*, I say, but, *extra illud scriptum*, according to the mind of the speaker. Whose mind was, that such were to be given for desperate, whether with or without using the *Ceremony*.

But, be more sparing, I pray, of that point, of the *Apostles* sometimes using their *prudence*. For it cannot be said or writ without great danger, that the *Apostles* in some things had *Divine Inspiration*, in the rest did often use their own *prudence*, and that in their writings which are ex-

tant. For even that very place, where ~~word is~~ ^{according to my judgment}, you know, is concluded with [*Αυτοὶ δὲ ἔχοντες τὸν ὁμοῦλον*] *But I think also that I have the Spirit of God.* so that his very ~~mind~~ ^{judgment}, his judgment had the dictate thereof, from the Spirit of God. As for that place, which you quote, if it were not written by *Divine inspiration*, but by *humane prudence*, we are to score it for *Apocryphal*. How then? are we for making an *Index*; and for *Expurging the New Testament*? For separate we must the *pretious* from the *wile*. What were dictated by *humane prudence* will never stand in conjunction with those which were by *Divine inspiration*.

But, although there be weight enough to confirm this cause, from the *Right* and maner of the *Apostles*, yet, you may remember, that I deriv'd this distinction of *Orders* higher, *viz.* from *Christ* our Saviour in the *Apostles*, and *Seventy-Two Disciples*. That it is every where among the *Fathers*, and clearly confessed by *them*, that *Bishops* succeeded the *Apostles*, and *Presbyters*; the *seventy Two*, I cited *Cyprian*; *But Deacons must remember, how our Lord chose Apostles, i. e. Bishops and Prelates; but the Apostles, after the Ascension of our Lord, appointed to themselves Deacons, as ministers of their Episcopacy, and of the Church.* That those *Seven* were instituted, *Acts vi.* by the *Apostles*; but no *Presbyters*, but after the example of the *Seventy Two*; nor *Bishops*, but after their own pattern. *This Order* therefore hath the strength and sinews thereof, not only from the *Apostles*, but even from our Saviour himself.

Would you have me fetch it yet higher? even out of the *Old Testament*, and there from the *Divine Law* it self? *S. Hierom* doth; *And that we may know that the Apostolical traditions were taken out of the Old Testament; what Aaron, and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple,*
that

that do Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons challenge to themselves in the Church. S. Ambrose doth, in both those places, 1. *Corinth.* 12. and *Ephes.* 4. speaking of the Jews, whose tradition, saith he, hath passed over to us. I omit Aaron; lest you should reject him, as a Type of Christ. Over his Sons, the Priests, was there not in their several families *נשיא*. i. e. a Prelate; or, as is said elsewhere, *בקר*. i. e. a Bishop. Over the Gersonites. *Num.* 3. 24. Over the Kohathites. *vers.* 30. Over the Merarites. *verse* 35. Was not Eleazar there, even while his Father was alive, *נשיא נשיא*, as if you would say, Prelate of Prelates. *verse* 32. Who is elsewhere called *בקר בקר* as if you would say, Archbishop. There are therefore in the Law, *כהנים, נשיאים, לויים*, i. e. Prelats or Bishops, Priests, and Levites: In the Gospel, The Apostles, the Seventy Two, and those Seven, *Acts* vi. In the Apostles practise, which was taken from those Two [the Law and Gospel] Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons. But do not, do not think, that this was by Apostolical Right alone; if there be in the Gospel, if in the Law, any Divine Right, this Government is not without example in both, it is founded on both. Either then there is no Divine Right in the form of Church Government, and then wellfare Amsterdam, where so many humane providences as there are, so many forms of Government shall be set up. Or, if there be any Divine Right, it is in Those Three, it is for us.

And now to your skirmishes of lighter consideration. That I know, what useth to be answered, by the Vulgar, concerning Timothy and Titus. Add this too, that I know, that many things are ill answered by the Vulgar. But what is answered by the Vulgar? that they were Evangelists. Who affirms this? either the Vulgar, or they that, out of some mans novel device, have spread

¶ *Num* 4 16

Num 11 9

P. 1 *sa.* 60 17

spread these doubtfull speeches among the Vulgar: For none of the *Antients* ever spake so; no *History* can witness it. But *History* doth witness, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Bishops*. *Epiphanius*, *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*; *Hierom*, *Theodore* say it. That they were *Evangelists* no man ever said, wrote, or dream'd, before our Age. This *Vulgar* answer is a *Vulgar* forgery.

Therefore, whether *Evangelists* were superior or inferior to *Bishops*, it's nothing to us; since *these*, by no means, were *Evangelists*. Who saith so? *S. Chrysostom*. But I am to mind you, that he corrects what he had spoken, with some diffidence, there, concerning *Evangelists*. For that nothing can be collected out of that place, *Eph. 4.* concerning the *Priority* of any. But we may fetch it from another *Epistle*, *1. Corin. 12. 28.* where we have, *πρωτον, δευτερον, τριτον* first, second, third: But *Evangelists* appear not there. Besides that they, whom you, with the *Vulgar*, would have to be counted *Evangelists* (*Timothy*, and *Titus*) are from thence placed among the *Pastors*, *ἐκλεκτοι ἰσχυριστευοντες ἰδιοι*, intrusted with the care of their several *Provinces*, and in general of all, but not among *Evangelists*. *Aquila* and *Priscilla* are to him *Evangelists*: that I cannot but wonder, what you meant to mention that place. For, from that place of *S. Paul. 2. Timoth. 4. 5.* if you will hear *S. Chrysostom*, you shall assoon make *Timothy* but a *Deacon*, from the fulfilling [*διακονει*] of the *Deaconship*, as an *Evangelist*, from the work of an *Evangelist*. Do not you therefore make such a disjunction; either *Bishop*, or *Evangelist*. *Evangelists* they were never reputed by any, but some, I know not who, two or three days ago, whom any upstart device pleaseth better, then reverend *Antiquity*. Do we give credit to *Antiquity*? They were *Bishops*, they had *Bishops* their successors,

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their heirs both in *Superiority* and *Power*.

You demand then, Whether *your Churches* sin against the *Divine Right*? I did not say it; this only I said, that *your Churches* wanted somewhat that is of *Divine Right*: wanted, but not by your fault, but by the iniquity of the times. For that *your France* had not your *Kings* so propitious at the reforming of *your Church*, as *our England* had: in the interim, when *God* shall vouchsafe you better times, even this, which now you want, will, by his grace, be supplied. But, in the mean while, the *Name* of *Bishop*, which we find so frequent in the *Scriptures*, ought not to have been abolish'd by you. Though to what purpose is it to abolish the *Name*, and to retain the *Thing*? (For even you retain the *Thing*, without the *Title*; and *they Two*, whom you named, while they lived, what were they, but *Bishops* in *Deed*, though not in *Name*) seeing, as he in the *Poet* saith excellently, there is scarce any man that would wish

Τύραννος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννίζειν.

To be a Tyrant, and not to tyrannize.

That *Aerius* was put in the black book of Hereticks (and worthily) whosoever shall beleieve *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, or *S. Augustine*, must needs confess. And you that condemn *Aerius*, upon what consideration do you condemn him? What, because he oppos'd himself to the consent of the *Catholike Church*? He that is of the same opinion doth not he also oppose himself? and is to be condemn'd upon the same consideration? But, if there be any error, so it be not with obstinacy of mind, though he think as *Aerius* did, his cause will be far from what the cause of *Aerius* was. Do not you therefore betake yourself to those tragical expressi-

ons of *damning to the pit of Hell*, of *giving sentence of damnation against your Church, as against her that treads under foot the Divine Right*. Ther's no necessity of that. Weigh only calmly what is spoken. To *vote* that a thing were so, is not to *devote*, if it be not. A *wish* is no *sentence of damnation*. To want somewhat that is of *Divine Right*, is not to *tread under foot the Divine Right*. Let but obstinacy and perverseness be wanting, it will be no heresy. And, if it be heresy, (being about a point of *Discipline*) it will not be among those, which S. Peter calls *apostate, blasphemous, damnable heresies*.

But far be it from me that I should drive you to *any streets*. For neither would I have you hold your peace, being so *provoked by the Jesuit*. Nay, but write, by all means write: but yet, when you write, so maintain your own, that you pinch not upon, I say not, other mens matters which belong not to you; yes, which somewhat concern you: (for our affairs are not meer strangers to you.) And, see, heer's a large field for you, wherein you may shew the sharpness of your, wit, (which indeed is excellent.) But do not, do not hope that you can *impartially*, play on both sides. *Your own will* complain of you; Ours need no such defence; So you will loose the thanks of either side.

But, although *these things be evidently enough contained in Holy Scriptures*, to any whose eye is single, yet is not that Principle so, as you have laid it. For, not what belong to *Divine Right*, but what belong to *Faith*, and *Good manners* [are evidently enough contained.] But these are not adequate to *Divine Right*.

Howbeit, you might well, you might have wrote (as you speak) exactly, had you begun, not where the words were *promiscuous*, but, where the *Things* being

always distinct, the signification of the words began likewise to be distinct. It was possible for you to have abstained from words equivocal, confused, and promiscuously taken; nor did any necessity enforce you to begin there.

You might also have balk'd all occasion of diverting to us. *Your design was touching Bishops*: you were to treat of them, and of the Office it self. Of the Bishops of England to what purpose? Doth England make that lawfull, which out of England is unlawfull? The abuses of men, wherever they are, must be taxed: the office it self, in what country soever, is the same; of it self, in it self, by it self lawfull: Nor, if the Bishops be not good, is the Office of Bishops not good: Yea but let the Office of Bishops be, let Them be no Bishops, unless they make good their Name.

But here, I know, the King would set an asterisk of approbation. *When you derive Episcopacy from the very infancy of the Church. When you acknowledge S. James to be Bishop of Hierusalem; and a long succession of Bishops, there, deriv'd from him. When now again you condemn Aerius.* See, you have Three asterisks for the Three dashes. For these things are most true; and according to the judgment of the Antients, even of Irenaeus, who leads the train of the Antients. The true profession is the doctrine of the Apostles; and the ancient state of the Church, through the whole world, is according to the succession of Bishops, to whom They deliver'd that Church, which is in every place; which hath reach'd even unto us.

Somewhat I added, afterward, concerning the novel, upstart name of Calling: and so of Pastors; (as they are now in use with you.) Touching that of Calling, you do not deny but that it is vnusual: you used, I suppose a
the figure of the figure of extenuation; for it is so unusual, that it

is not at all. *Calling*, indeed, is sometime used for the *Office*; for *Ordination*, never. But neither do you deny what I observed touching that word, *Pastors*. Nor do you produce any, either among those *Antients*, or the *later Writers*, before our Age, that was so call'd, *viz.* a *Pastor*, who was not, indeed, a *Bishop*. Only, I know not how. you heap up many things together, but all beside the matter: that you seem not in them neither to have reach'd my meaning. For, what if I grant all that you allege? *That your flocks are not without a Pastor*; (as it seemeth good to you to stile him:) That all you say out of S. Paul, S. Peter, the *Prophets* is true: What are these to me? who only say that the *Antients* spake thus; that *that other name* is not from *Antiquity*. I recall you therefore to this; That, among the *Antient Christians* in former ages, you shew me out of their writings, where the word *Pastor* was ever used, and they spake not of the *Bishop*: or, that it was used (as with you it is) of a *Parish Priest*. Prevail thus far with your self, as to shew *this*; for, unless you do *this*, you do nothing to the purpose.

But yet see, of what force those things are, that you brought there. For S. Paul doth not say there, that *Presbyters* [did *pascere*] were *Pastors*: this He saith, *wherein the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops* [pascere] to feed [to be *Pastors over*] the Church of God. Saint Paul's *Pastor* therefore is a *Bishop*. And, lest you should think that the name *Bishop* is to be taken, there, *appellatively* (as if you would say, *Such as have the Cure of*) not *properly*; behold; the *Syriack Interpreter* himself retains the *Greek word* †; when the *Syriack* wants not a word of her own, by which to express, [*Such as have the Cure of.*]

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And so also S. Peters *Pastor*. 1. Epist. 5. chap. 2. v.

For I wholly doubt, whether that place, of *S. Peter*, belong to, *inferiour Presbyters*. For He addeth there (as you know) *inferiours*, being *Bishops* over them: so that He also conjoins [*et inferioribus*] being *Bishops*, with [*et pastoribus*] being *Pastors*. That word indeed I stand not upon. That which follows there [*not Larding it over the Clergy*] doth plainly evince, that they, to whom *S. Peter* wrote this, had *not*, power and authority over the Clergy: otherwise, that *Domineering* and *Larding* over them could not possibly be apply'd to them. Wherfor *S. Peters Pastor* must needs be a *Bishop*. And who indeed can doubt of this, seeing the conjunction of *those two* words took the first rise from *S. Peter*.

For, whereas you infer that the *Word of God* is [*Pasculum*] food: that therefore they, who administer *this* food, do [*pascere*] feed: I shall easily grant you, that feed they do, that is, *Comens*, but not therefore *pascent*, whence cometh *Pasculum*, as you know, i. e. *Pastor*; who, over and above the food of the *Word*, administer somewhat else beside.

But what you bring from that place, to the *Epheſians*, chap. 4. are either *uncertain*; For 1. One will have *Pastors* and *Doctors* to be *all one*. 2. Another maketh *no mention of Pastors*. 3. A Third thinketh that *Readers* are *Pastors*. I shall speak of them all.

1. To *S. Augustine*, *Pastor* and *Doctor* are no otherwise the same, then *Order* and *Degree* were, to us, a little before. Every *Order* a *Degree*, but not every *Degree* an *Order*: so every *Pastor* is a *Doctor*, but not every *Doctor* a *Pastor*. Who saith this? *Saint Hierom*.

2. Of him, who makes no mention, there, of *Pastors*, nor will I make mention. The *Monks* are better inclin'd, commonly, to *Treatisers*, then to *Bishops*.

3. For *S. Ambrose*, who understood *Bishops* in *Apostles*; *Presbyters* in *Prophets*; *Deacons* in *Evangelists*; no wonder, if at last he fell upon *Readers*, when he had none beside them, to whom, after *those Three*, he might refer them.

Thus, say I, either *uncertain* they are: or, when they are *Certain* they make against you. By name, *S. Chrysostom*; Who defineth *Pastors* to be *they*, to whom was committed (*τὸ ἅμα*) the generality of the people. Are your so? And he adds who were *such*, as *Timothy*, saith he, and *Titus*; who were both *Bishops* in *S. Chrysostom's* account: and, I beleeve, in your account, they were more then *Presbyters*, labouring in the Word.

Yet remains what you glanc'd at, out of the *Prophets*. Which places if any do accurately consider, he shall find, that not only the high *Priests*, but also the *Prophets* and *Levites*, upon whom the Office of teaching lay, were called by the name of *Pastors*. Doubtless, he shall. Add moreover; he shall find *Princes* in the State, and *Magistrates* often, nay oftner a great deal, to be called by the name of *Pastors*, then all them put together, whom you set down. And yet we do not call *Princes* by the name of *Pastors*. Nor do I think that at *Geneva* he is call'd a *Pastor* who is the chief *Magistrate*. The *Pastors* therefore in the *Prophets* reach not home to this. Tell me, who of the *Antients* ever spake so; otherwise we are beside the cushion.

Lastly, that seem'd to me a wondrous strange opposition. Indeed it is not by the *Antients*; but we *Frenchmen* speak so. For, must the *Antients* speak as the

the French; or the French as the *Antient Christians*? And you run upon the same rock again, afterward. The *Presbyters who labour in the Word, whom we Frenchmen call Ministers*. For it's strange, how it became lawfull for *Frenchmen*, to put upon a *Presbyter* that name, which never any among the *Antients* used; but for a *Deacon*. I speak not this otherwise, but that even among us too, that bad fashion is taken up, of calling them *Ministers*, and *Pastors* too. But these words were brought in by them, who best relish any upstart fashion; but against their mind who reverence *Antiquity*; and, as they may, disclaim these usages. For we suffer, as I said, many things, which we teach not; and bear with that which we cannot take away. But he, that but bears with a thing, loves it not, though he loves to bear with it.

And now you have an Answer to your Letters, so far as my occasions give me leave. For I have not the happiness of much leisure. But although I read none of yours unwillingly, yet I read no passage more willingly, then that last, wherein you profess, *How desirous you are of peace; how glad you should be that all the Reformed Churches, who are united by one Faith, were united by one and the same bond of Ecclesiastical Government*. Which is likewise my earnest and hearty prayer: and I daily begg it humbly of God, that they may be united in the same Form of Church Policy, by the bond of Ecclesiastical Government; but that same which derives its pedigree from the very infancy of the Church; from which, the Reverend Antiquity of the First Ages; which whosoever opposeth, opposeth himself to all Antiquity; which Saint James the Apostle began in the Church
of

B. Andrews's Of Episcopacy. III. Epist.

63

of Hierusalem, from whom the succession of Bishops in a long course descended; which condemned Aerius, for daring to oppose himself against the Consent and Practise of the Catholik Church; which all Churches every where received.

I come at last to give you thanks. For, the Book, you promis'd me, shortly after I had sent you my former Letters, was deliver'd to me. I do heer both acknowledg and thank you, that you were pleased to inlarg and enrich my Library with your Two Books. And I intreat you, begg of God for me, that the remainder of my life, which is to come, may be, rather good, then long. For as a *Play* to our life, it skills not how long, but how good, how well acted. In like manner, I, wishing all happiness to you, (and in that I put this, *That the Reverend Antiquity of the First Ages may be in higher esteem with you, then the upstart novell device of any whosoever,*) do freely promise you my help and assistance in any thing, that may, heer, concern your interest. You will pardon me, if I have spoke somewhat more freely; assuring yourself, that, though I am of a quite different judgment in some points, yet my charity, and brotherly affection toward you, is unchanged awhit; nor (by the grace of God) shall ever be.

F I N I S.

S. Ignatius in Epistola ad Magnesianos.

Ὁ ὁμοῦ ἐ Κόβη ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἐδίδει ποιεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστὶν τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ Ὑπο-
 βύτῳ, καὶ Διάκονοι, καὶ Λαϊκοί. Μὴ τι φανήσῃ ὑμῶν ὑπερῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ὁ-
 ρμὴν. Τὸ γὰρ ταῦτε παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου, καὶ Θεοῦ ἐχθρὸν ἐστίν.

As our *Lord* doth nothing without his *Father* ;
 so neither do ye without the *Bishop* ; neither *Pref-*
byter, *Deacon*, nor *Layman*. Let nothing seem rea-
 sonable to *you*, against *his* liking : For whatsoever
 is so, is against the *Law*, and offensive to *God*.

